114 However, all the works mentioned in the preceding paragraphs contain various linguistic data—generally limited to mediocre vocabularies—and a description of material culture, carefully undertaken in Rondonia. Nowhere do they treat of family life and social organization. Under these circumstances it may be surprising that the Nambikwara seem to have been completely forgotten after the publication of the work of Roquette Pinto. It was natural that our own expedition, begun exactly
121 26 years and two months after /3/ the beginning of Roquette Pinto's trip, should be dedicated to filling in—even partially—the gaps of preceding research. We have sought more extensive and precise linguistic information; paid more attention to the "dynamic" aspect of the material culture, considering less the finished products than the processes of their fabrication; and above all, we have dedicated ourselves mainly to the study of family and social organization, the description of which is the object of the present work.

114 It is superfluous to stress that an exhaustive study of the life and society of the Nambikwara will not be found here. We were only able to share the life of the Indians during the nomadic period, and that alone would be enough to limit the extent of our research. A trip undertaken during the sedentary period would no doubt furnish some important information, and would permit correcting the general perspective. We hope to be able to undertake this some day. As Roquette Pinto wrote at the beginning of Rondonia: "Lentas hão de ser sempre as construcções cientificas en tal terreno". [*"Scientific building in such country must always be slow."*] (1) His book, however, must always

1. Prefacio da Segunda Edição, p. 13.

be merited with having called attention to one of the most interesting cultures of indigenous Brazil and having been the first to produce a lively and charming picture of it.

131 The territory occupied by the Nambikwara Indians extends from the
133 Papagaio River in the east to a zone in the northwest ending approximately at the junction of the Commemoracão de Floriano and Barão de Melgaço Rivers, both branches of the Machado River or Gi-Parana. This point marks, at the same time, the end of the plateau which occupies nearly the entire central and western parts of the state of Mato Grosso. The southern boundary is placed at the middle course of the Guaporé River, and, farther to the west, it follows the entire course of the Commemoracão de Floriano River. The location of the northern

131/133 boundary is unknown. The upper course of the Roosevelt River (formerly: da Duvida) is doubtless inhabited by Nambikwara groups, but these cannot extend far toward the west for the intervening region between the Roosevelt River and the upper Gi-Parana is occupied by tribes of the Tupi tongue. It seems probable to us that the northern frontier of the Nambikwara territories, between the Roosevelt and Juruena Rivers, approximately follows the eleventh parallel. Thus, the boundaries of the region could be delimited in the following way: in the east, between the eleventh and thirteenth parallels, the course of the Juruena and of the Papagaio; in the southeast, a conventional line going from the eleventh parallel and 58°4' to the fifteenth parallel and 60°, this last point corresponding almost to the location of the town of Villa-Bella; in the south, the course of the Guaporé beyond Villa-Bella to the sources of the Corumbiara River and the neighboring region, and, from there, the course of the /4/ Commemoracão de Floriano River to the beginning of the Machado River (about 11°7' parallel and 60°9'); in the west, a conventional line extending from the last point to the intersection of the Roosevelt River with the eleventh parallel; finally, in the north, the eleventh parallel from the Roosevelt River to the Juruena. Thus the greatest length of this area is about 400 to 450 kilometers from north to south and the width, from east to west, reaches 300 kilometers.

Considered in its entirety, the area constitutes the northern and western zone of the vast plateau which occupies the greatest part of the state of Mato Grosso, and whose southern extremity rises above the countryside of Cuiaba from the imposing site of a great rocky wall, the "Chapada." This northern and western zone is also the most inhospitable region of Mato Grosso; maybe even—with the pampas of the northeast—of all of Brazil.

133 The geological structure of these lands is imperfectly known. They are formed of red sandstone with clayey layers and date from various periods—Devonian in the east (the "Chapada" proper), Cretaceous in the zone which particularly interests us ("Planalto dos Parecis" and the so-called "Serra do Norte"). The layer of sandstone rises abruptly above the crystalline rocks which occupy the upper valley of the Cuiaba River. The transition is more progressive toward the eastern extremity of the plateau of the Parecis since, several kilometers to the west of Diamantino, one passes, almost without perceiving it, the

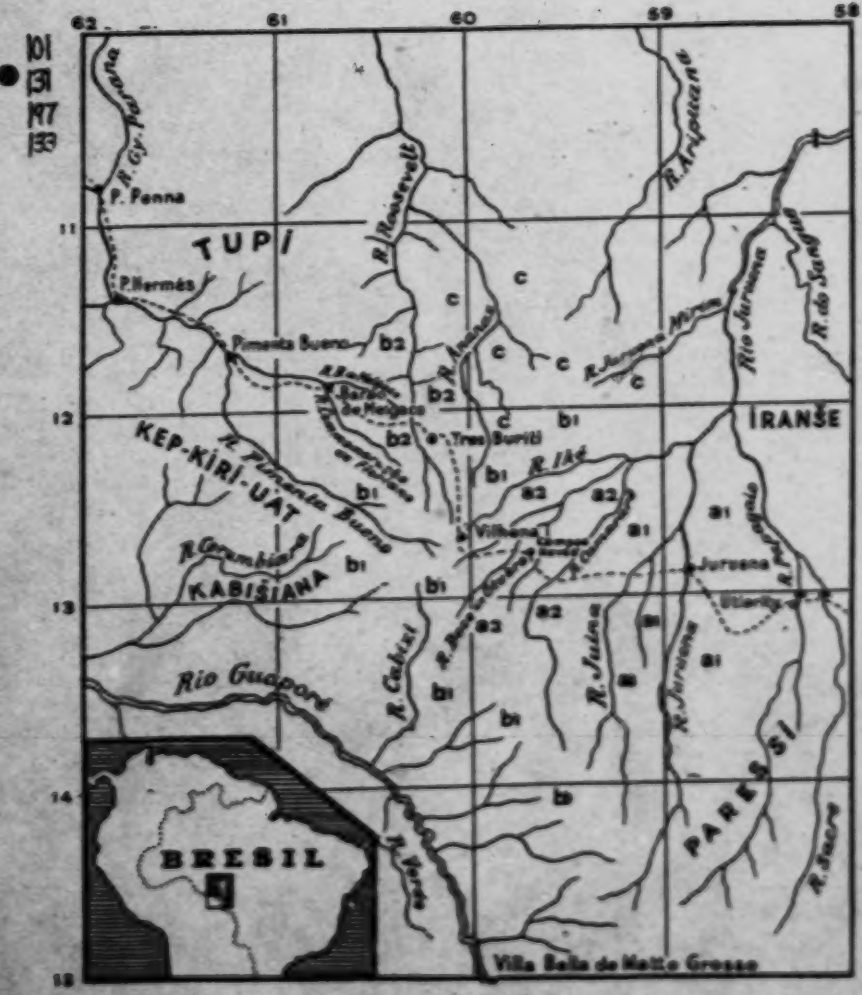
137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls—for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
● 131 Nambikwara correspond—roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest—to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paresi and the Iranje Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

1:Lévi-Strauss 10(A) E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17



Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[509] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another off, attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarũnde, maimãde (b1); mamãindeti (c) oũindesu, nikpdetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[10] were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
● 19 between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 The *Nambicuara* (*Nambikuara*, *Mambyara*, *Makiherae*) have been identified only recently. *Nambicuara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupi* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiços de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile [648] sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondón discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambicuara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambicuara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

131 Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambicuara* (map 1, *No. 2;* map 2; map 4)[1] is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Guaporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

101 The first classification of the *Nambicuara* was made by Roquette-Pinto
197 (1938, pp. 216–217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b), using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is undivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kithãu*, *Cocozu*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anunzé*) in the basins of the Camararé and Doze de Outubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

[1] [Not presented for the File. - Analyst]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1955 SP17 Hambleton SP17

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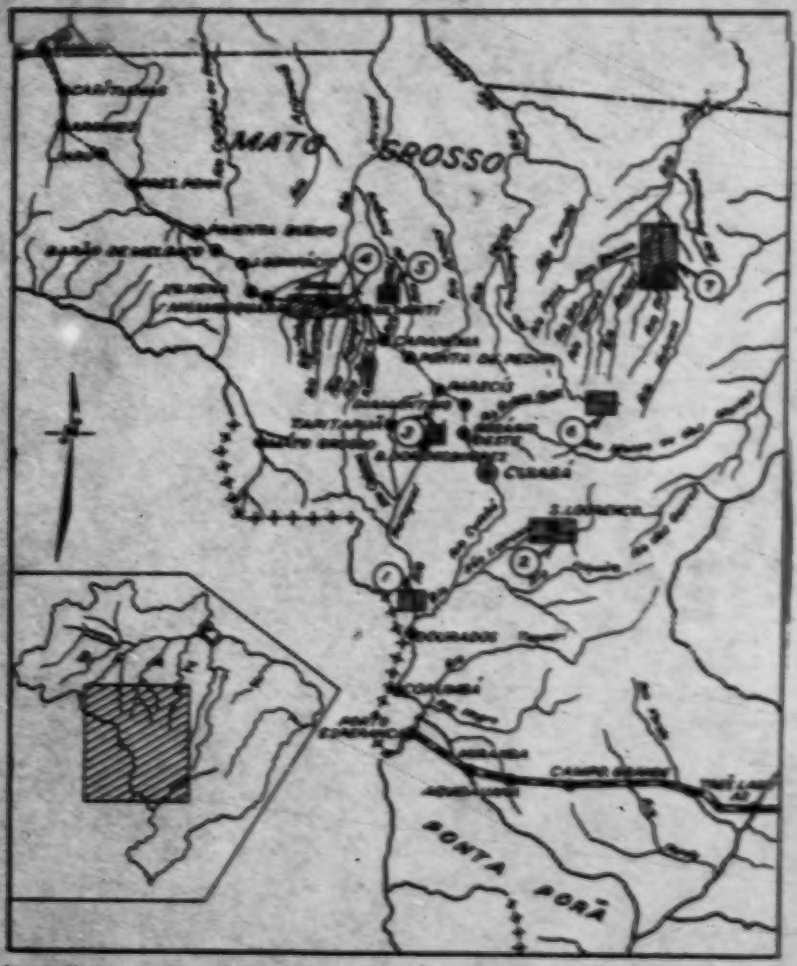

Map 1.—[illegible] Mato Grosso, Brazil, showing the location of tribes among whom field work was done. Numbered blocks refer to the following tribes or groups of tribes: 1, The Cuiaú; 2, the Bororo; 3, the Chavánte; 4, the Xambioá; 5, the Javaés; 6, the Bananál; 7, the Upper Xingú tribes.

[p. viii]

[101] 184 The Parecí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep
One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance, "bastante" becomes *marunde*, "pequeno" becomes *akiki*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "criança" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 171 Compared with their neighbors, the Parecí and Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Parecí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Parecí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 2.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Parecí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

● 131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabiahí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 13°30' on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço to the west. 101 The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Parecí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. #4, pp. 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

1-1 on their eastern whom they call the Salundé or Sálodé, probably the Apiões whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[197] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into an Eastern and a Western group. Both the 13 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are 101 dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elótasu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Suiná River; the Waklítisu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwáisu now including the Hégndisu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindisu on the Kabishí River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Tãcondisú and Suédndisu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Waklítisu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Waklítisu, Elótasu, and Kitánhlu the Iritoa; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwáisu and Hégndisu are called the Manduca by the local people, and the Anuniá by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anuniá by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoa and Manduca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability
621 has arisen from the change in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara
621 appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

headwater streams. The deep clear streams make [illegible] and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.

The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Utiarity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, particularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwénkisu*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, combarú beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season (*wahíasu*) is divided into periods depending upon the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadídunsu*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *yu'awadjítsu*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dáru*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *castáru*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daugadítsu*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
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GEOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS

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Most of the series measured in northern Mato Grosso are from tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin (maps 1, 3). These are the Anetí, Trumaí, Bacairí, Nahuqua, and Camayurá. Their present locations are indicated in map 2, (p. 5), and data on their earlier shiftings are given by Lévi-Strauss (1948, p. 322-323). As Oberg has said (p. 4), the fanlike network of rivers constituting the drainage basin of the Upper Xingú River affords no natural barriers and makes for easy intertribal communication by water. But the limits of the Upper Xingú Basin to the east, west, and south are marked by the sandstone plateaus of the Brazilian Shield. These barriers tend to isolate the Basin from the outside world, thus fostering its development as a riverine cultural unit (p. 7).

West of the Upper Xingú Basin, on the semiarid plateau, the Serra do Parecís, are the Paresí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara. In earlier times, most of these people were concentrated along the "galería" forests bordering the headwaters of rivers originating on the plateau. The location of the Iranxe at white contact was immediately north of the Paresí. The Nambicuara were thinly scattered in the less habitable areas west of the Paresí. In contrast to the more populous Upper Xingú tribes, the Paresí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara are now remnant groups.

Across the semiarid plateau, or Planalto do Matogrossense, which forms the southern barrier

[p. 128 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

of the Upper Xingú Basin, lived the Bororo. With the Guató and others, the Bororo occupied the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay River. As a Bororo subtribe, the Umotina formerly lived between the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay and Sepotuba rivers (Lowie, 1946, p. 419). The São Lourenço group of Bororo, measured by Ehrenreich, inhabited the upper and middle reaches of the São Lourenço River.

To the east of the Upper Xingú Basin, along the Araguaia River, are the Carajá. They are included in this analysis less for their geographic position than for their metric similarity to the Umotina.

[p. 129 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
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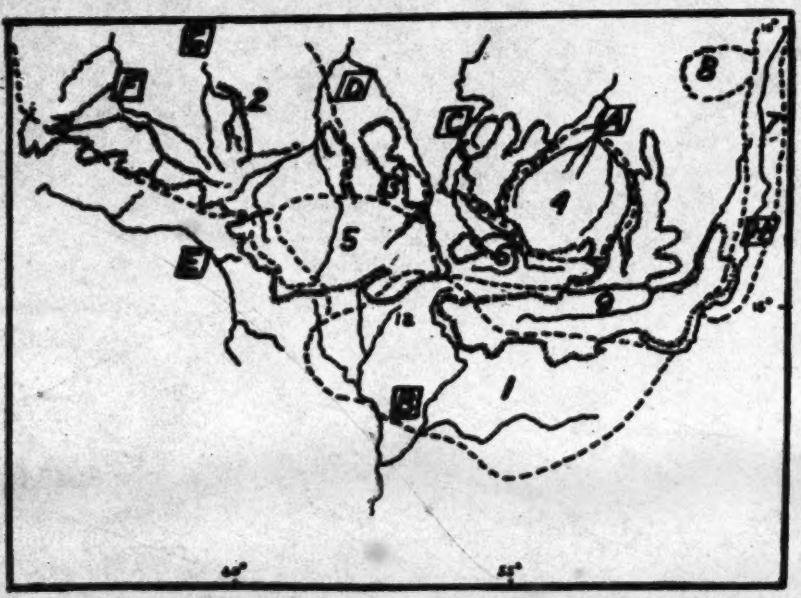

MAP 1.—Schematic map of approximate tribal locations in relation to topography and drainage systems in northern Mato Grosso. Dotted lines indicate tribal boundaries at time of contact (after Steward and Metraux, 1948). Hachures indicate the general conformation of the Planalto do Mateogrosseano. Tribes: 1, Bororo; 1a, Umotina; 2, Nambicuara; 3, Irantxe; 4, Upper Xingú tribes; 5, Parecsi; 6, Bacairi; 7, Carajá; 8, Tupiranã; 9, Cayapó. Drainage systems (simplified): A, Upper Xingú; B, Upper Paraguay; C, Paratinga-Verde; D, Arinos-Papagaio; E, Guaporé; F, Gy-Parana; G, Theodore Roosevelt; H, Aragoaia.

[p. 129 (1)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbácába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amúésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

121 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 177 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister," Turn-

Brazilian Indians are brachyskelic, and the Nambicuara constitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paressi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Ge group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paressi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Mambyuara, Mambryara, Mambyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

7: Roquette-Pinto--17 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

101 The geographical range of the name "Nambicuara" is very significant; the term designates these Indians both in Mato Grosso and in Pará. This means that the inhabitants of the Serra do Norte are known by the same name to the north and to the south.

This might lead us to believe that the name is unusually distinctive. However, it is unknown to its bearers and altogether alien to the dialect of any of the groups. It is fitting nevertheless to retain it in order to avoid confusion.

131 The southern boundary of the Nambicuara region is the Papagaio
101 River.

In the north their territory apparently extends to the Gi-Paraná; in the east, to the Tapajoz; in the west, to the Guaporé.

The people who live near the banks of the Juruena and Juina, between the Papagaio and Camararé rivers, [216] and whom I shall name the "southeastern group," are called "Côcôzú" or "Côcôçú."

Those who live along the lower reaches of the Doze de Outubro River are called "Anunzê"; I shall refer to them as the "northeastern group." They probably extend as far as the confluence of the Arinos Juruena rivers, where a few members of the first group are also likely to be found.

[221] Those who live to the southwest of the wintering place [inverndad] at Campos Novos extend down to the Guaporé River; they are called "Uaintaçú" and constitute the "southwestern group."

The great "northwestern group" lives near the Madeira River, on the banks of tributaries of the Gi-Paraná. It seems to consist of various secondary groups related in ways which have not yet been clearly defined. The Indians I encountered at the wintering place of Três Buritis, at the Campos de Quatorze de Abril, at José Bonifacio and at Campos de Maria de Molina all belong to this division. Their principal group lives between the Doze de Outubro and Roosevelt (Rio da Dúvida) rivers.

Of the northern division I found only the Tagnani, Tawite, Saluma, Tarute and Tashwite [Taschuitê]; and I only succeeded in gathering data on the first two.

2: Steinen--656 F,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Bororo SP8
Nambicuara SP17
Paressi SP19

/548 cont./

		1848	1872
14 Bororós Cabaçaes	110	Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara	40
15 Cayapós	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba	400
16 Coroados	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
/549/			
17 Bacahirís	200	Source region of Paranatinga	200
18 Cajabís	?	Source region of Paranatinga	?
19 Barbados	400	Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz	400
20 Pariciz	250	Campos and Serra dos	250
21 Maimbarés	400	Parecíz	400
22 Cabixís	500		500
23 Nambiquarás	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos)	600
24 Tapanhunas	800	Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos)	800
25 Apiacaz	2700	Arinos and Juruena	2700
26 Mequens	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guarayos	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Cautarios	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacáz	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Cenabós	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jacarés	?		
32 Caripunas	1000	Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira	1000
33 Aráras	?	Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	13020		8670

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

N 105 175 131 162

/552 cont./

23. Nambiquarás. 600 at the confluence of the Rio de Peixe and the Arinos. Hunting, fishing, fruits of the sierra, implements of wood and stone. Carry on habitual warfare with their neighbors, especially the Apiacás. Will have nothing to do with the Brazilians, attack canoes on their way to Pará, but are very much afraid of firearms and offer no open resistance.

A 105 175 131 162

25. Tapanhunas. Of the same type as the preceding ones. About 800 at the confluence of the Tapajoz and the Arinos.

25. Apiacáz. Dwellers along the Juruena, also visit the shores of the Arinos. They have iron goods and carry on agriculture, hunting, fishing. In their feuds with the Nambiquarás and the Tapanhunas they remain more on the defensive, but have nevertheless not by any means given up their original anthropophagous customs. Assist travelers, sell farina from mandioca, roasted maize, cará, batatas, sweet mandioca (aypim), beans, watermelons, gourds, birds, and honey, as well as wide-meshed hammocks of cotton or tucum palm, feather ornaments.

BI. 105 175

26. Mequens. On the like-named tributary of the Guaporé between the Guaraios and Palmellas. They flee; gifts which were put in the forest were not accepted.

G 105 175 131

27. Guaraios. At a place called Pao Cerne, 50 leagues from Matto Grosso. Mandioca, beans, maize; hunting, fishing. Seek out travelers.

G 169 061

[Report of 1850: Moved over from Pao Cerne in 1852 to the Aldea de Sta. Ignez somewhat below Matto Grosso. 31 tribes of 40 families = 1240, originating, it is assumed, from a settlement in the Bolivian province of "Mofos" (not "Moxos").]

BI. 105 175 131

28. Cautarios. On the like-named rivers between the Mamoré and Forte Principe. Fishing, hunting, wild fruits, mandioca. Harm us as much as they possibly can. They are robbers, traitors, and murderers.

29. Paceáz. On the Mamoré east of the Guaporé mouth up to the first cataract. Quite unknown.

30. Senabós. West of the Mamoré up to the first cataract. Unknown. At war with the Jacarés (31).